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Page 1
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                 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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               EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN
 3
                      SOUTHERN DIVISION
 4
5
     LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF
                                    )
                                          Case Number
     MICHIGAN, ROGER J. BRDAK,
     FREDERICK C. DURHAL, JR.,
                                          17-cv-14148
     JACK E. ELLIS, DONNA E.
     FARRIS, WILLIAM "BILL" J.
     GRASHA, ROSA L. HOLLIDAY,
     DIANA L. KETOLA, JON "JACK"
     G. LASALLE, RICHARD "DICK"
10
     W. LONG, LORENZO RIVERA
     AND RASHIDA H. TLAIB,
11
            Plaintiffs,
12
     VS.
13
     RUTH JOHNSON, in her
14
     official capacity as
     Michigan Secretary of State,
15
            Defendant.
16
17
18
         DEPOSITION OF CHRISTOPHER WARSHAW, Ph.D.
19
                      Washington, D.C.
20
                 Wednesday, August 8, 2018
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22
23
24
     Reported by: John L. Harmonson, RPR
25
     Job No. 145530
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Page 2
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 5
                                August 8, 2018
 6
                                 9:25 a.m.
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 9
          Deposition of CHRISTOPHER WARSHAW, Ph.D.,
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     held at the offices of Faegre Baker Daniels LLP,
11
     1050 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., pursuant
     to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, subject
12
13
     to such stipulations as may be recited herein or
     attached hereto, before John L. Harmonson, a
     Registered Professional Reporter and Notary
16
     Public of the District of Columbia, who
17
     officiated in administering the oath to the
18
     witness.
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Page 3
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                     APPEARANCES
     On behalf of the Plaintiffs:
4
          FAEGRE BAKER DANIELS
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          300 North Meridian Street
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          Indianapolis, IN 46204
7
          BY:
               JAY YEAGER, JR., ESQ.
8
9
10
11
     On behalf of the Defendant:
12
          JONES DAY
13
          51 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
14
          Washington, D.C. 20001
15
          BY:
              MICHAEL CARVIN, ESQ.
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,		Page 4
1	C. WARSHAW	
2	PROCEEDINGS	
4	9:25 a.m.	
5 6	Whereupon,	
7	CHRISTOPHER WARSHAW, Ph.D.,	
8		
	after having been first duly sworn or affirmed,	
9	was examined and did testify under oath as	
10	follows:	
11	EXAMINATION	
12	BY MR. CARVIN:	
13	Q. Good morning, Professor. How are you?	
14	A. Good morning, sir.	
15	Q. My name is Mike Carvin. I'm	
16	representing the defendants in this case.	
17	Have you ever had your deposition	
18	taken before?	
19	A. I have not.	
20	Q. Okay. You were not deposed in the	
21	Pennsylvania litigation?	
22	A. I was not.	
23	Q. Did you provide in-court testimony in	
24	that case?	
25	A. I did.	

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- don't know who led that effort. But Professor
- 3 Klarner has been the lead in recent years.
- Q. And I don't see anything here about
- 5 collecting information on incumbency status with
- 6 respect to state legislative elections like you
- 7 reference with respect to congressional
- 8 elections. Why is that?
- 9 A. That data is in the Klarner dataset.
- 10 It was, I guess, a typographical omission on my
- part. But it's in the Klarner dataset. It's all
- part of it. I didn't quite do that for
- presidential elections because the election
- 14 results and the incumbency status come from
- different datasets, whereas here they all come
- 16 from one integrated dataset. But I should have
- said that explicitly.
- Q. Just so I understand the general gist
- of your report, you analyzed the efficiency gap
- 20 and these other measures for the 2012, 2014, and
- 21 2016 elections, correct?
- A. Yes. However, I also calculated them
- for all elections between 1972 and 2016.
- Q. Fair enough. But what I'm getting at
- is these are backward-looking calculations. You

Page 46 1 C. WARSHAW 2 haven't made any projections for vote totals in the 2018 Michigan congressional or state legislative elections, correct? Α. That's correct. 6 You haven't estimated the Democratic 0. vote share statewide for any of the three offices at issue, right? Α. No. 10 And you're not making any 0. 11 district-specific projections? 12 Α. I am not. 13 Now, if you could turn to Okay. 0. 14 page 6 of your report, please. 15 MR. CARVIN: Off the record. 16 (Off the record.) 17 BY MR. CARVIN: 18 So at various points here you produce Q. 19 various estimates of, for example, where the 20 Michigan redistricting compares to the 21 mean-median difference for prior elections 22 throughout the nation and various other things. 23 Are you representing to me that all of the data 24 underlying this analysis has been provided to the 25 defendant?

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- Q. And in recent years, at least ten
- different approaches have been proposed, correct?
- 4 A. That's what McGhee asserts in this
- 5 article. I think -- I believe that's true,
- 6 although I couldn't name all ten.
- Q. But it's fair to say that the
- 8 profession is striving for some uniform generally
- 9 accepted measure of partisan asymmetry or
- 10 partisan bias?
- 11 A. I think the profession is trying to
- improve our metrics. I think whether we will
- ever have one single metric remains to be seen.
- Q. But we haven't arrived at that point
- ¹⁵ yet?
- 16 A. I think there's differences of
- opinions about whether we've arrived at that
- point.
- 19 Q. Now, previously it was my
- understanding that the most accepted consensus
- 21 measure was the partisan symmetry analysis
- championed largely by Gary King and Grofman. Is
- 23 that fair?
- 24 A. Yes.
- Q. Has that fallen out of favor in recent

Case 2:17-cv-14148-ELC-DPH-GJQ ECF No. 119-14, PageID.2534 Filed 09/21/18 Page 8 of Page 51 1 C. WARSHAW 2 proxies for this theoretical concept. And indeed, you know, none -- we'll never have an approach that is exactly perfect, but that's true for most political science concepts that we're trying to measure. You know, all social science measurements are simplifications of some theoretical concept we're trying to measure. 10 Okay. And you're using the efficiency 0. 11 gap as your main measure of this theoretical 12 concept? 13 That's correct. Α. 14 And that was first proposed by Ο. 15 Stephanopoulos and McGhee in the 2015 University 16 of Chicago Law Review article? 17 That's not exactly right. It was 18 actually proposed by Eric McGhee in a 19 peer-reviewed article in the Journal of 20 Legislative Studies Quarterly in 2014. 21 Q. Okay. And --

- A. And then the Stephanopoulos and McGhee
- 23 article focused on expanding the description of
- it and then applying it, trying to build a legal
- standard that they advocated. But the

Page 52 1 C. WARSHAW original -- the original measure was actually developed by Eric McGhee. Okay. And the Chicago Law Review is 0. not a peer-reviewed journal, right? 6 That's correct. Α. 7 And during the two and a half years or 0. three years since its proposal it's received a lot of scholarly criticism in the Political 10 Science Academy. Is that correct? 11 I think there has been a robust Α. 12 discussion of the merits of different measures 13 with some of that centering around criticism of 14 the efficiency gap. 15 Okay. If you could turn back to Ο. 16 Exhibit 2. 17 Α. Which one is that? 18 0. I'm sorry. The Stanford Law Review 19 article. 20 Α. Great. 21 And again, this is the Stanford Law 22 Review article by Stephanopoulos and McGhee 23 themselves, right? And at the top of 1508 they

25 Hold on just one moment, MR. YEAGER:

24

say --

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Page 53
1
                           C. WARSHAW
2
          please.
                MR. CARVIN:
                              Sure.
                MR. YEAGER: Thank you.
     BY MR. CARVIN:
 6
                Stephanopoulos and McGhee say that
          Ο.
7
     "The academic discussion of the efficiency gap
     includes a number of criticisms of the measure."
     Is that accurate?
10
          Α.
                Yes.
11
                And then they list, I believe, at
          Q.
12
     least five scholarly articles criticizing the
13
     efficiency gap?
14
          Α.
                Yes, that's correct.
15
                And they cite an article by Cho, by
          0.
16
     Best, by Krasno and colleagues, by John Nagle.
17
                Are these critics well-respected
18
     political scientists?
19
          Α.
                Yes, sir.
20
                And then also by Christopher Chambers.
          0.
21
     Is he a well-respected political scientist?
22
                I don't know him, to be honest.
          Α.
23
     couldn't say. I assume -- I'll take it as a
24
     supposition.
25
                              Could I just clarify.
                    YEAGER:
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- 1 C. WARSHAW
- gap has no secure baseline for establishing the
- degree of wasted votes that indicates a
- 4 gerrymander?
- 5 A. In my view, there's no bright line for
- any of the metrics that would establish a
- 7 gerrymander based on one metric alone.
- 8 Q. So as to the efficiency gap, the
- 9 mean-median difference and declination, there's
- no baseline for separating an impermissible
- gerrymander from a tolerable result?
- 12 A. I think you have to look at a number
- of different factors. As in Michigan, I think
- 14 that all of those point in the same direction,
- that this is an extreme partisan gerrymander.
- But there's no single number where I would say
- above 5 percent or something is definitely a
- 18 gerrymander.
- 19 Q. So there is no well-accepted view in
- the profession about what efficiency gap score
- renders a redistricting plan unacceptable or an
- extreme partisan gerrymander?
- 23 A. That's correct.
- Q. And the same is true of both the
- mean-median difference and the declination

Page 58 1 C. WARSHAW 2 scores? That's correct. Α. Then it discusses effectiveness Ο. difficulties -- I'm now back to the preceding 6 paragraph -- arise for three reasons. And the first reason they give are votes are wasted for reasons other than gerrymandering. Do you agree with that? 10 Yes. Certainly I think that a number Α. 11 of factors affect election results, and those can 12 influence the efficiency gap estimates as they do any of the other metrics to some degree. 13 14 Then it says: "The wasted vote gap 0. 15 co-varies with a party's vote percentage." 16 Do you agree with that? 17 Α. I don't necessarily agree. I haven't 18 run a regression that tests that statement, 19 although I certainly -- we certainly -- I 20 certainly could. My -- I know in the 21 Stephanopoulos and McGhee, in their article they 22 argue that's not necessarily true, in their 23 Stanford Law Review article. 24 And in my qualitative assessment of 25 just spending a lot of time with the data,

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- that's -- that's ignoring the fact that the most
- 3 likely outcome in most scenarios is the favored
- 4 party will win that election.
- ⁵ Q. Fair enough. But just to get to the
- two points we can agree on, a 52/48 district has
- a very poor efficiency gap score, right? It says
- 8 that the disadvantaged party has wasted 46 votes
- 9 in that?
- 10 A. I think 48 in the hypothetical you
- 11 just gave.
- 0. 48. And in relative terms, 46 because
- 13 the majority party is only --
- 14 A. I see what you're saying.
- Q. -- wasting two points. Is that fair?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Okay. So we agree that those kinds of
- districts perform very poorly in terms of the
- efficiency gap, correct?
- 20 A. Sure. The disfavored party is wasting
- 21 a lot of votes in those districts. Which is one
- of the reasons why cracking voters across these
- district is such a good strategy for the favored
- party.
- Q. Right. Well, it could be a good

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- A. Yes, that's true in theory. But the
- gefficiency gap in Michigan has stayed relatively
- 4 stable over the past three election cycles.
- 5 Q. We're going to discuss that.
- But the authors of this article stress
- 7 that a plan's efficiency gap may change
- 8 substantially from one election to the next. Do
- ⁹ you disagree with that as a general proposition?
- 10 A. No.
- 0. We'll come back to how much it's
- 12 changed in Michigan.
- They recommend the sensitivity test is
- to take into account whether under realistic
- voter shifts the efficiency gap could actually
- 16 favor in this case the Democrats, correct?
- 17 That's their sensitivity test?
- A. I believe that's true.
- 19 Q. And you've not done any sensitivity
- testing to determine whether or not the
- efficiency gap could be zero or close to zero in
- the 2018 or 2020 elections, right?
- A. I have not. My entire report focuses
- on actual observed elections, where we now have
- three elections since the 2011 plan went into

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Page 76
1
                           C. WARSHAW
2
     place.
                Right.
          Ο.
                 I don't look at hypothetical
          Α.
     elections.
 6
                Right. Well, the fact that there's
          0.
     elections in 2018 is not hypothetical; they just
     haven't occurred yet. Right?
          Α.
                Fair.
                        Yes.
10
                And you're not making any projections
          Q.
11
     about what will happen --
12
                That's correct.
          Α.
13
                 -- in future elections?
          0.
14
          Α.
                That's correct.
15
                 If you turn to page 864 of this
          Ο.
16
               If you read the fourth sentence in the
17
     first full paragraph on 864, it says:
     "Specifically, a plan's efficiency gap in one
18
19
     election is a relatively weak predictor of its
20
     gap in the next election (coefficient equals
21
     0.23) in a model that also includes a variety of
22
     other factors."
23
                 Is that correct?
24
          Α.
                 I haven't -- I couldn't say for sure.
25
     I haven't looked at -- what I say -- what I show
```

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- metric is perfect, including the efficiency gap.
- Q. Right.
- A. I think all of these metrics have
- weaknesses, and that's one of the weakness,
- 6 perhaps the most important weakness of the
- ⁷ efficiency gap.
- Q. Okay. So you agree with the
- 9 efficiency gap's potentially more important
- limitation is instability as the authors state at
- 11 page 864?
- 12 A. I do think that's a weakness. But I
- think one -- one area where I would disagree with
- 14 the authors is that elections have consequences.
- Even if a measure is -- even if -- even if future
- 16 elections can't be predicted precisely -- and I
- also think, you know, going back to even the
- Gelman and King 1994 article, it's
- 19 longstanding -- it's long been known that the
- 20 consequences of a gerrymander decay somewhat over
- time due to changing election circumstances. No
- one can predict the future precisely. So I don't
- think that's necessarily a new point.
- So, for instance, in Michigan the
- efficiency gap decreases a little bit. And

Page 97 1 C. WARSHAW 2 I think quantitatively THE WITNESS: those are not wholly dissimilar, but I think the context is very different. Whereas 13.2 indicates to me a very clear -- clear 6 evidence of partisan bias, once you go down 7 to 5 or 6 percent then I think that would be -- I would need -- the efficiency gap by 9 itself probably wouldn't be dispositive. 10 wouldn't be like -- no piece of evidence is 11 dispositive, but I think it would be less 12 significant evidence in favor of a partisan 13 bias. 14 BY MR. CARVIN: 15 So if this trend continues of the Ο. 16 efficiency gap decreasing by 6.5 percent, then it 17 would be roughly 6.7 percent in 2020, correct, if 18 this trend continues? 19 But I think there is no evidence Α. Yes. 20 either way that the trend is going to continue, 21 and certainly not that it's going to be linear. 22 In fact, what we've seen in prior decades in 23 Michigan is the efficiency gap -- you know, there 24 hasn't been a linear trend in the efficiency gap. 25 So for instance in the 1990s, in

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- ² Michigan was right in the middle.
- Q. So for purposes of that statement,
- 4 you're looking at the efficiency gaps at the end
- of the decade, not the efficiency gap immediately
- following the decennial redistricting, right?
- A. Yes. I mean, in part because I think
- 8 the 2002 efficiency gaps could have been
- ⁹ pro-Republican because of gerrymandering in 2001.
- Q. Right.
- 11 A. So I think certainly for any kind of,
- 12 like, long-term geographic kind of assessment
- it's useful both to look at the long-term -- the
- 14 long-term average as well as the average right
- before the new plan went into place.
- I think looking at the 2002 efficiency
- gap, just like so too -- just like the 2012
- efficiency gap, is going to be the one that's
- most affected by intentional gerrymandering.
- Q. And that will wane over time?
- 21 A. Yes. The literature -- I think the
- consensus in the literature is that the effects
- of gerrymandering decay somewhat over time. They
- 24 do not decay away completely. They are still, in
- general, consequential, as I show, six years

Page 133 1 C. WARSHAW 2 packed district wastes more of the party that's being packed votes. And I think that if instead of 75/25 you had had a -- you had drawn a hypothetical that was 80/20, I 6 think -- you know, so for instance, in 7 Michigan, two of the seats that are most packed are 84 percent Democratic and 9 86 percent Democratic. So those seats have 10 more wasted Democratic votes than wasted 11 Republican votes. 12 BY MR. CARVIN: 13 Right. 0. 14 Α. But I think, you know -- like I said, I haven't thought about it in quite these terms. 16 But I do think this is the quirk of thinking 17 about things district by district, is -- you 18 know, there's no metric, and the efficiency gap 19 included, that is going to be perfect at trying 20 to characterize individual districts and -- you 21 know, for every imaginable vote share, the 2.2 relative advantaging of each party. 23 Does a packed 75 percent district Q. 24 waste Democratic votes relative to Republican? 25 MR. YEAGER: Asked and answered.

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- think all of these metrics are simplifications of
- reality. And at the statewide level, the
- 4 efficiency gap characterizes a legislative map
- 5 that is a partisan bias fairly well -- or very
- 6 well. But none of these are perfect, and I think
- ⁷ the goal of the efficiency gap is not to, you
- 8 know, precisely characterize which districts are
- 9 packed.
- Instead, the goal is to make sure that
- the metric of gerrymandering at the statewide
- 12 level comports with what McGhee and
- 13 Stephanopoulos call the efficiency principle.
- Q. Right.
- A. Which is that if you win -- you
- shouldn't win more seats in the legislature
- without winning more votes. And if you win more
- seats in the legislature without winning more
- votes, then you should have a metric that
- reflects that. And the efficiency gap does.
- Q. You think the efficiency gap
- corresponds to a rough equivalence between
- statewide vote and statewide seat share?
- A. No, I do not. It's not a proportional
- metric.

Page 139 1 C. WARSHAW infinitesimally, you know, .1 or something more wasted Republican votes there than wasted Democratic votes. I don't have -- personally, I don't 6 have a view of exactly what the threshold is 7 for a packed district. Probably I would say 75/25 would be above that threshold. 9 seems that this is a little idiosyncratic as 10 to the efficiency gap in this case. But the 11 goal of the efficiency gap is to capture 12 gerrymandering at a statewide level; it's 13 not to give a precise characterization of 14 individual districts that are packed or 15 cracked. 16 BY MR. CARVIN: 17 All right. Now, in a 51 percent Ο. 18 Republican and 49 percent Democratic district, 19 the Democrats have wasted 49 percent of the 20 votes, right? 2.1 Α. Yes. 22 And the Republicans have wasted Q. 23 1 percent of the votes? 24 Α. Right. 25 So the efficiency gap in a 51/49Q.

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- district is 48, right?
- 3 A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. And the efficiency gap in a
- 5 75 --
- A. Well, the difference in wasted votes,
- ⁷ to be more precise. That's not the efficiency
- gap, but the difference in wasted votes would be
- 9 48.
- Q. And that's an extraordinarily high
- amount of wasted votes in a district, right?
- 12 A. Correct. Well, it's an
- extraordinarily high differential in the wasted
- votes.
- Q. And so a 51/49 gets a worse efficiency
- 16 gap or wasted votes measure than a 75/25
- district. Is that right?
- 18 A. Well, it certainly suggests that when
- one party would be much more disadvantaged --
- there's much more of a differential in the wasted
- votes than in a 75/25.
- Q. Okay. So let's go back to your
- example. The efficiency gap in this plan right
- now is 20 percent pro-Republican?
- A. In this illustrative plan in Table 1,

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- election where one party gets 60 or 65 percent,
- say, of the statewide vote, you know, then the
- 4 different metrics will diverge a little bit more.
- 5 But we don't observe that very much in the modern
- 6 U.S., and we certainly don't observe it in
- ⁷ Michigan.
- 8 O. Right. So in the modern era, when
- ⁹ there are competitive elections, there's
- virtually never or very rarely any divergence
- between efficiency gap, mean-median, and
- declination, correct?
- 13 A. I would agree with that.
- Q. Okay. Why don't we discuss the
- mean-median. That was first proposed in a 2015
- 16 Election Law Journal by Best and McDonald?
- A. I believe that's true.
- Q. And the Election Law Journal, is that
- a peer-reviewed journal?
- A. Generally speaking, it is. I think
- they do publish occasionally doctrinal articles
- that might not be peer-reviewed, but their social
- science articles are peer-reviewed.
- Q. Okay. There's certainly no wide
- scholarly acceptance of mean-median as the best

Page 171 1 C. WARSHAW 2 or proper measure of partisan gerrymanders, correct? Α. Correct. And it's been subject to serious Q. 6 criticism by respected political scientists? 7 Α. Correct. Including Stephanopoulos and McGhee? 0. Α. Correct. I think I discuss some of 10 those criticisms in my report. 11 Yeah, why don't we turn to that. Q. 12 you could turn to page 9 of your report. 13 Α. Yes. 14 One problem with it is it is possible 0. 15 for packing and cracking to occur without any 16 change in the mean-median difference, right? 17 Correct. I think McGhee in his 2017 18 article shows this, demonstrates this empirically 19 with simulations. 20 And therefore a party could gain seats 0. 21 in the legislature without the mean-median gap 22 changing, correct? 23 Α. Correct.

- 24 Another problem with it is it's
- 25 sensitive to the outcome in the median districts?

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- 2 by definition because the median has to be less
- 3 than 50 percent?
- A. I think that's true in a situation
- 5 with equal turnout.
- Q. And how about if a party got
- ⁷ 53 percent of the statewide vote and won all ten
- 8 of the seats, so 53/47. 53 percent of the vote
- 9 would capture 100 percent of the seats but the
- mean-median difference would be zero, correct?
- 11 A. If they got -- if the median -- if all
- of the seats were 53 percent and they had a mean
- across them of 53 percent, then yes, I believe in
- that case -- I haven't thought about this before
- this conversation. But I believe in that case
- that would be a mean-median of zero.
- Q. Okay. And this declination theory,
- this was published this year by this fellow named
- Warrington?
- A. Correct.
- Q. Has there been any scholarly
- commentary on this?
- A. No. I think it's a new metric and
- there's been -- to my knowledge, there's been no
- explicit response or critique, although I'm not

Page 177 1 C. WARSHAW 100 percent sure of that. So obviously there hasn't been wide 0. acceptance of this measure in the political science community as a proper measure of partisan bias or gerrymander? Just because it's so new. Α. I don't think there's a consensus either way. Okay. Again, to the extent I can 10 understand this thing, it's you look at the difference between the two vote lines or 11 12 something like that? 13 Yeah, correct. 14 All right. My first question is: 0. 15 you really expect the judges to understand this 16 thing? 17 But in any event, again, if you're 18 getting a minority of the vote and a majority of 19 the seats, this declination is going to be -- is 20 going to show a problem, right? 2.1 MR. YEAGER: Object to the prior 22 comment which is part of the question I 23 I'm sure the judges can understand think. 24 this perfectly well. 25 You can answer.

- 1 C. WARSHAW
- in a state where one party or another is more
- likely to have wasted votes, they're less likely
- 4 to have views that are congruent with their
- ⁵ legislator.
- Q. Well, in Michigan you claim there were
- ⁷ five Democratic packed districts in Congress,
- 8 right?
- 9 A. I believe that's true.
- Q. Okay. And there was only two or three
- cracked districts because under any seats-votes
- analysis they would only be expected to get seven
- or eight seats, right?
- MR. YEAGER: Objection; misstates the
- 15 record.
- You may answer.
- 17 THE WITNESS: I don't think I made a
- characterization in my report of which
- districts precisely were packed and cracked,
- and I'm reluctant to do so now.
- 21 BY MR. CARVIN:
- Q. So we don't know which districts they
- are, but whichever they are, there can only be
- three cracked districts where there's five packed
- districts, right? You're not expecting Democrats

Page 255 1 C. WARSHAW CERTIFICATE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA I, JOHN L. HARMONSON, a Notary Public 6 within and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify: That CHRISTOPHER WARSHAW, the witness whose deposition is hereinbefore set forth, was 10 duly sworn or affirmed by me and that such 11 deposition is a true record of the testimony 12 given by such witness. 13 That if the foregoing pertains to a federal case, before completion of the 15 proceedings, review and signature of the 16 transcript [X] was [] was not requested. 17 I further certify that I am not related 18 to any of the parties to this action by blood or 19 marriage; and that I am in no way interested in 20 the outcome of this matter. 21 IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set 22 my hand this 15th day of August, 2018. 23 24 25 JOHN L. HARMONSON, RPR